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ADDRESS

OF THE

HON. JAMES S. ROLLINS,

OF MISSOURI,

ON THE

PROGRESS OF OUR COUNTRY,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY,
AT BLOOMINGTON,

On Tuesday Evening, June 27th, 1871.

SAINT LOUIS:
R. P. STUDLEY CO., PRINTERS AND LITHOGRAPHERS, 221 N. MAIN STREET.
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CHAPEL OF THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY,
BLOOMINGTON, June 28th, 1871.

HON. JAS. S. ROLLINS:

Sir—At a meeting of the "Alumni Association" of the Indiana University, held this day, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to request a copy of the address, delivered by you before the Association last evening, for publication, and to present you a copy of the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, by the Alumni Association of the Indiana University, that the Hon. James S. Rollins, a member of the Class of 1830, for his able, patriotic and eloquent address, delivered last evening, merits, and is hereby tendered, the sincere thanks of this Association."

Your compliance will be highly gratifying to the Committee and the friends of the University.

Respectfully yours,

JOS. G. McPHEETERS,
R. D. RICHARDSON,
ROBT. C. FOSTER. } Committee.

BLOOMINGTON, IND., June 28th, 1871.

Messrs. JOS. G. MCPHEETERS, R. D. RICHARDSON, and ROBT. C. FOSTER, Committee:

Gentlemen—I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your polite note of this date, together with the Resolution adopted by the Alumni Association of Indiana University, requesting a copy of the address delivered by me on the evening of the 27th inst. for publication. I most cheerfully comply with your request, and herewith place at your disposal a copy of the address.

Thanking you and the Alumni Association for the pleasant terms in which you have been pleased to make this requisition upon me, I am, with very high regard,

Your obedient servant,

JAS. S. ROLLINS.

ADDRESS.

THE PROGRESS OF OUR COUNTRY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FACULTY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND FELLOW ALUMNI:

To me this is an eventful occasion. I come before you under circumstances rarely associated with the life of any man—circumstances fraught with personal considerations that gladden the heart, and quicken the understanding.

Forty-one years ago, in September next, when but a lad of seventeen years of age, I here graduated; and, favored with the honors of this then infant institution, I took my departure, with my parents, for the "far West," to seek a home beyond the "Father of Waters."

I left Bloomington a boy without experience: I now return to this sacred spot, for the first time since, a man of ripe years, and with more than ordinary experience in public and in private life.

Between then and now I have spanned a period of more than a generation—a period pregnant with the most marvelous events in the history of the human race. Swift succeeding years and events, made memorable with life and death, have passed away since

"That morn and this between—"

And when I look back through the years that have intervened between my departure and my return, in the midst of this welcome my soul thrills with joy, when I can say to you, that it has been my endeavor, in public and in private affairs, to render unto others that which I would have others do unto me, and that I am not wholly unworthy to be recognized as one of the sons of the University of Indiana.

But I am to speak to you to-day of the "Progress of our Country," of the growth of the American Republic, and of the changes that have taken place under the Constitution since I bade farewell to my "Alma Mater." What theme is greater? What field of thought more varied, and prolific of knowledge for the student and scholar? Cast your eyes over this broad land, from ocean to ocean and from zone to zone! Behold the vast achievements of our people, the rising glory of the Republic! everywhere a source of admiration for the citizen, and an object of praise for the statesman.

It was but yesterday—not a century ago—that a new nation was born amid tribulations upon the eastern declivity of the continent, with no ancestral lineage, no royal descent, despised by kings, weak before the powerful and wealthy nations of the earth, nought but legitimate parentage, the offspring of revolution, and a determined people to give it character in history, and to entitle it to recognition amongst the nations of the earth. And yet it has moved forward in its majestic career, until to us who stand in the centre of this great valley, it encompasses the continent from the rising to the setting sun, and is fixed in history as the great Republican nation of the world. Its flag, the most perfect emblem of beauty and of power, floats in perfect amity and admiration over every sea, and to every kingdom of the earth, telling everywhere with honor of the American name and the American character. Its ordinances are almost accounted of divine origin, and the provisions of its Constitution afford protecting care alike to the humblest and the greatest of its citizens. Everywhere the American heart responds to the sublime command of its laws, which are the same to all. Wonderful Government! Well might the Eastern sages have come to view it in its humble birth, and the sun again stand still to behold such a nation born into existence!

At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the area of the government was 341,756 square miles, exclusive of the North-western Territory—but little more than the present area of Texas, and far less than Alaska. It consisted of a bleak shore of the Atlantic, the northern half of which De Tocqueville declared was to the Pilgrim Fathers an "inhospitable clime."

The North-western Territory was then a wilderness of 268,756 square miles, lying west of the Alleghenies, and bounded by the Mississippi; and where you and I meet to-day was then an unexplored region ruled by the wild beast and the Indian. The eye of civilized man had not yet looked upon fruitful fields and thriving

cities beyond the Ohio and the Mississippi. No Anglo Saxon had yet trod the majestic heights of the Rocky Mountains; no hand of avarice had yet gathered from the treasuries of their unsunned gold! All was still buried in the obscurity of nature, waiting for the pioneer to discover, and the artisan and craftsman to bring into use for civilized men.

At this time the population of the infant Republic was 3.929,827, not so many as the present population of the State of New York, and but little more than that of Pennsylvania. Its tonnage was 474,374; the value of its exports $20,205,156, and the value of its imports $23,000,000. Our brave ancestors were then building wiser than they knew: they were carving an empire out of the wilderness. The pious invoked the favor of God, the patriot had faith in his government, and visions of future empire urged on the sages of the revolution to nobler deeds

Steam as an industrial agent had not yet been brought into use; the railway was unknown to the world; the lightnings, uncurbed, still played in the heavens—no telegraph had yet been discovered. The elementary spelling-book was unknown to the school-house, and Webster's Dictionary to the college. All was rude and undeveloped; the nation was frontier, and yet do my thoughts linger along the sturdy pathway of that transition period. Great men, firm in their purpose to do good, and to establish a republican government commensurate with the continent itself and in obedience to the laws of God, moved in the majesty of human nature among the people of that eventful period. What a sublime drama in human life was then inaugurated on a continent but recently revealed to the elder families of man!

But it is my purpose to invite your attention, more particularly, to the progress of our country during the period intervening between my departure from this institution in 1830 and my return to it at the present time.

From the organization of the government by the thirteen original States let us pass rapidly over the more important political changes that had taken place previous to 1830. Vermont and Kentucky were admitted into the Union in 1791, Tennessee in 1796, Ohio in 1802, the purchase of the Territory of Louisiana was made in 1803, and the State of Louisiana was admitted in 1812, Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821. In 1830 the States and territorial possessions of our country embraced an area of 2,930.000 square miles. This gave

us full control of the Mississippi river and its tributaries, part of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and also of the Pacific along the coast of Oregon. We then had increased from thirteen States and one Territory, to twenty-four States and three Territories.

At that time the total population of the United States was 12,866,020, with 343,000 of this number belonging to Indiana, and 140,455 to Missouri—not half as many as now inhabit the chief city of that great commonwealth!

The total exports of our country in 1830 were valued at $73,847,508, and the imports at $70,876,920. The commerce of the lakes and rivers was small, and the nation almost everywhere embraced by frontier life. Steam was then rapidly coming into use. Steamers along the coast were slowly but surely being sent forward to do the bidding of commerce and the will of man. Moving forward in the civil conquest of the continent, steamboats were rapidly appearing upon our Western rivers, and upon the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Arkansas, the white breath of the engine mingled with the smoke of the wigwam, as civilized men went forward from their parental homes to the wilds of the distant West.

But the genius of man, in this as in all other efforts, could not be confined to rivers and oceans; another growth of mind gave birth to the railway, and this must be regarded, since the invention of the steam engine, as the greatest aid to civilization the arts have produced, in enabling the rapid intercommunion of men and of ideas, and the easy exchange of products. When I left Bloomington, in 1830, there were but *twenty-three miles of railway* in the United States, and not until 1831 was a locomotive placed upon a track!

At that date there were no railroads in Indiana, none in Missouri, none in the Mississippi valley, and no human mind to predict their growth, no genius had yet foretold the mighty triumphs which steam was soon to achieve on the American continent. Yet everywhere the nation was instinctive with progress, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and beyond.

Webster's Dictionary had just been published, the elementary spelling-book had reached the log school-house as a new evangel of knowledge, churches and colleges were rapidly following the march of empire. The pioneer was superceded by the sturdy husbandman, the craftsman, and the artisan. The preacher and the schoolmaster went hand in hand to the theoretical conquest of the human mind, and, in obedience to the command of God and the instincts of the

human soul, the Anglo Saxons moved forward to the civil conquest of the continent, from the rising to the setting sun. Their march has been uninterrupted, and impelled by an all-conquering zeal. Political and material growth went hand in hand. When the frontier boundary was removed beyond organized States, new ones were added—Arkansas, with its 52,198 square miles, was admitted into the Union in 1836; Michigan, with 56,431 square miles, was admitted in 1837; Florida, with 59,268 square miles, Iowa, with 55,045 square miles, and Texas, with its 274,356 square miles, were admitted in 1845. The annexation of Texas, the "Lone Star Republic," was a most important event in the political history of our country. It not only strengthened the institution of slavery, by giving it an outlet, extended our dominion and opened a vast field for the activity, enterprise and speculation of millions of our people, but it gave to us an area of country larger than France, larger than Prussia, and when fully developed will be more wealthy and powerful than the greatest nation of Europe. Wisconsin, with its 53,924 square miles, was admitted in 1847. Then came the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, after the war with Mexico, which gave us California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Colorada, and New Mexico, comprising 611,548 square miles, almost as large as the old government and her northwestern territory. Soon after followed the Gadsden treaty, which gave us a fine strip of territory along the Gila river on our southwestern boundary.

California, with its 188,981 square miles, was admitted in 1850; Minnesota, with its 83,531, was admitted in 1857; Oregon, with its 95,274, was admitted in 1859; and Kansas, with its 81,319 square miles, after an unparalleled struggle betwixt the Northern and Southern sentiment, in reference to the extension of African slavery, was admitted in 1861.

This brings us to the most eventful period in our political history since the revolution and the formation of the government—a contest, the seeds of which were planted when the government had its birth, and which were never eradicated. There was a difference of opinion from the very start in regard to the true interpretation of the fundamental law, the structure of the government, and the relative rights and powers of the States and of the general government under the constitution. It brings us to a consideration of the great rebellion, the struggle betwixt the free and the slave States. The subject of slavery was the exciting cause which precipitated the contest, but it was personal ambition no less than slavery, and the

violence of party spirit as well as this difference of opinion as to the true theory of the constitution, which had much to do in forcing on the rebellion. What an episode! What a drama in our history! The American patriot will forever mourn over its pages, and true and brave men will continue to shed tears of sorrow alike over the graves of the *Blue* and of the *Gray!*

In the midst of our grand career of extension and of progress God saw fit to send to our land the most terrible of all those fearful ministers who fulfill his inscrutable decrees. *Our* people, like those of all previous times, have had their trials and difficulties, growing out of their differences of opinion in regard to human rights and the structure of their government: an "irrepressible conflict" between antagonistic principles, which culminated at last in rebellion and civil war, and which threatened for years to engulf all that was sacred and dear to every patriotic American heart in the destruction of the Federal Union. But I thank God that the people were equal to the task of its preservation. Appreciating the interests at stake, and guided by a pure and lofty patriotism, they sustained the cause of the government and of free institutions. The rebellion was crushed, and 4,000,000 human beings hitherto held in bondage were clothed with the attributes of freedom; thus making our country free in fact as well as in name, and at last establishing upon a firm foundation the principles of the Declaration of Independence, for which the patriots and heroes of '76 fought and bled, to enthrone upon the American continent.

But let us close this bloody page of our country's history. "Posterity will look back on the accomplishment of emancipation, and the vindication of the principles of liberty with pride, regarding the issue of the war not as the victory of the North, but as the fiat of God." Let us have hope in the living, and envy not the dead who, though misguided, did much in the conflict to elevate the valor of the American name. Let the poet weave his rhyme alike for the "*Blue* and the *Gray!*"

"Asleep are the ranks of the dead
Under the sod and the dew.
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the one the Blue,
Under the other the Gray!

"These in the robings of glory,
Those in the gloom of defeat;
All with the battle-blood gory,
In the dusk of eternity meet.

Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Under the laurel the Blue,
Under the willow the Gray!

"No more shall the war-cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red;
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead!
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Love and tears for the Blue,
Tears and love for the Gray!"

Let us now be consoled with the reflection that, whilst the desolations of war are visiting other lands, and the multitude in the frenzy of their mad ambition are razing to their foundation-stones those splendid monuments of human skill and ingenuity which have stood for centuries as the highest evidence of their advanced civilization, and the torch of the incendiary and madman has been indiscriminately applied to those grand temples of architectural taste and beauty, and to libraries and galleries of art which contained works that can never be replaced, and which were gathered from every quarter of the habitable globe to adorn and beautify the proudest city of the most accomplished people on earth—the Angel of Peace has spread his white wings over our continent, and under the favor of God, after all our trials, our people are enjoying uninterrupted happiness and prosperity.

We have only to act the part of brave, and wise, and patriotic men, and profiting by our bitter experience, to obliterate the prejudice and enmity engendered by the civil war, and reconcile upon a liberal and enlightened basis the difference of opinion which may still exist in different sections of our country, and by so doing, plant ourselves firmly upon the doctrines of the immortal Declaration of Independence, and march on under a free constitution, and in obedience to laws which recognize no distinction but that which genius, and talent, and industry, and moral worth confer.

So wonderful has been our progress, and so great the national vitality, that even in the midst of war, states were admitted into the Union, territories organized, and railways constantly pushed forward to completion. In short, the great miracle of our material enterprise, the Pacific Railway, was wrought in the midst of rebellion. and, strange as it may seem to you, that terrific monster of

the ocean, the *Alabama*, whilst on its mission of piracy, was stimulating American progress, beyond computation. Our commercial men of the sea-board cities were overburdened with first class merchant vessels, which were readily sold to English merchants at the rate of from $150,000 to $200,000, at the advent of the Alabama. They are now rotting in English harbors, and offered for sale at $3,000 and $4,000 each. A revolution in ship-building, almost simultaneous with the appearance of the Alabama on the high seas, gave the iron ships the preference, which, together with the dread of the Alabama, drove American capital from the ocean, unlocked the treasures of the Eastern cities, and sent it Westward over the continent to be invested in the building of railways, and bridges, and cities, and depots, and furnaces, and other enterprises of our civilization. Such has been essentially the indirect work of the Alabama, and while our foreign commerce has declined upon the Atlantic Ocean, our continental development has moved forward with a rapidity and success unknown to all human experience. Nor am I wanting, in this matter, for an example to prove the correctness of this position. *Bonaparte* thought to cripple Britain by destroying her foreign trade. But its extinction in one quarter was almost immediately followed, either by the extension of it in another or by the extension of the home trade. His piracy upon the sea compelled the English people to stay at home, and work their soils and their metals; to build their cities, construct machinery, enlarge their manufacturing establishments, found institutions, and develop wealth. So has that unlawful steamer done for us. Henceforth, when you speak of the *Alabama*, remember to "let the dead bury the dead," and with the ratification of the Treaty of Washington, the Alabama, recognized hitherto as a curse, may in the end prove a substantial blessing to our people.

In 1862 West Virginia, with 23,000 square miles, was admitted into the Union; in 1864 Nevada, with 112,090 square miles, was admitted; and in 1867 Nebraska, the youngest of the sisterhood, with its 75,995 square miles, was admitted.

Thus have we to-day thirty-seven States and eleven Territories, exclusive of the District of Columbia. Many of our Territories are on the threshhold of membership, and will soon be admitted into the Federal family.

Having spanned the grand period under contemplation, by rapidly tracing the political growth of our country to its present greatness, it remains to be considered what it is to-day, in its political, material,

moral and intellectual development, and what mission our people have yet to fulfil in their further advancement—for great as has been our progress, our career is still onward!

"We walk the wilderness to-day,
The promised land to-morrow."

The progress of our country! What a vast array of facts to present to the human understanding! Statistics of its growth, that baffle mathematical calculation, everywhere present themselves for consideration.

When I left this institution forty-one years ago, twenty-four States constituted the Federal family. The buffalo and the red man contested the right to more than one-half of the Mississippi valley. But now, in the land of *Hiawatha*, the winds, the waves, and the lightnings do the bidding of civilized men. In 1830 our domain embraced an area of 2,339,264 square miles; now it has an area of 3,527,654. Our population was then 12,866,020; now it is 38,312,633—an increase of more than 6.000,000 for each intervening decade! During that time nearly 10,000,000 souls have been added to our numbers by means of immigration. Our exports in 1830 amounted to $73,849,508, and our imports to $70,896,920; our imports in 1869 were valued at $437,314,255. Our national wealth is estimated at $23,400,000,000, at an annual increase of $921,700,000. The value of our principal agricultural products are estimated at more than $3,000,000,000, and our industrial resources are valued at more than $4,000,000,000.

There are now in the United States more than 50,000 miles of railroad, constructed at a cost of $2,000,000,000! When I left this institution, forty-one years ago, no citizen of Indiana thought of ever building railroads upon her soil; now she has about 3,000 miles, constructed at a cost of more than $100,000,000; and my own State has upwards of 2,000 miles in operation, at a cost of about $100,000,000.

In 1869 our coast-wise and carrying trade amounted to a total tonnage of $4,144,640, with a total value of $186,508,760; whilst our entire foreign commerce is valued at $876,442,284.

Passing from our foreign commerce we are next to inquire into the magnitude of our internal trade, and here our figures swell into grander proportions of measurements and values. We have an inland river navigation of 20,000 miles, penetrating the vast area of the Mississippi valley, and furnishing transportation for a large proportior of the products of sixteen States and two Territories

besides extensive facilities afforded by canals. The river navigation of the great West, said Mr. Benton, "is the most wonderful on the globe, and, since the application of steam power to the propulsion of vessels, possesses the essential qualities of open navigation. Speed, distance, cheapness, magnitude of cargoes, are all there, and without the perils of the sea with storms and enemies. The steamboat is the ship of the river, and finds in the Mississippi and its tributaries the amplest theatre for the diffusion and display of its power. Wonderful river! connected with seas by the head and by the mouth; stretching its arms towards the Atlantic and the Pacific; lying in a valley which is a valley from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay; drawing its first waters, not from rugged mountains, but from the plateau of the lakes in the centre of the continent, and in communication with the sources of the St. Lawrence and the streams which take their course north to Hudson's Bay; draining the largest extent of the richest land; collecting the products of every clime, even the frigid, to bear the whole to market in the south, and there to meet the products of the entire world. Such is the Mississippi! and who can calculate the aggregate of its advantages, and the magnitude of its *future* commercial results?" This river and its tributaries float annually upon their bosoms more than $2,000,000,000 of commerce, which is an excess of more than $1,000,000,000 over our foreign commerce, and nearly $2,000,000,000 in excess of our own carrying trade, coastwise and foreign.

Forty-one years ago not more than 2,000,000 people resided upon the Mississippi and its tributaries, now the number has grown to at least 20,000,000!

On the north we have the great lakes with their 2,000 vessels, and carrying a commercial business whose annual value is more than $450,000,000. On the south we have the Gulf of Mexico, with a general trade of more than $500,000,000 annually, in which we share largely; and if we adopt a wise national policy will soon be doubled, and all under our control.

In agriculture our progress has been equally wonderful; increasing from 113,000,000 acres of improved land in 1850, to 500,000,000 of acres in 1870, according to the national census just taken. The cereals for 1869 are valued at $1,849,179,843. In 1832 there were only 70.000 hogsheads of sugar produced in the United States; in 1861, before the rebellion swept over the Southern States, there were produced 459,410 hogsheads of sugar. Prior to the rebellion the largest amount realized for the cotton crop in any one year

amounted to $237,030,288: in 1869 the crop yielded the sum of $302,600,000!

The highest value placed upon the live stock in the United States prior to 1860 was $1,075,000,000; in 1869 its estimated value was $1.527,704,029.

The cash value of farms throughout the country in 1850 was returned at $3,271,575,426; in 1860 at $6,645,045,007; and, since we see that the valuation has quite doubled in the decade intervening between 1850 and 1860, it is reasonable to believe that the valuation has doubled during the decade just passed, and that the present valuation of the farms of our country is well nigh worth $12,000,000 000!

The agricultural implements of the country were valued in 1850 at $151,587,638; they are now properly put down at $400,000,000!

The live stock of the country also adds immense value to its wealth; but I will not burden you with the figures necessary to express either the separate or aggregate value of the domestic animals.

The advance of our people across the continent to the Pacific ocean led to the discovery, upon our own territory, of a mine of wealth far greater than that discovered by the ambitious and imaginative Spaniards in their search for the visioned "El Dorado!" Gold and silver and other precious metals, in inexhaustible mines, have been discovered throughout the length and breadth of the Sierra Nevadas and Cordilleras. In 1867 the entire yield of gold and silver in the United States, from all sources, was $75,000,000; and it is safe to say that the average annual yield of the precious metals, since the discovery of the gold mines in 1849, has not been less than $50,000,000.

There are now 1,694 organized banks in the country, with a capital paid in of $432,163,611.00, and having a circulation of $299,789,895.45.

Mechanical industry, like the blood of the human system, has ramified every quarter and locality of our country, and given strength and vitality to the national life. Muscle and brain have united the mechanical forces of nature, and created the loom, the cotton gin, the mill, the harvester, the printing press, the sewing machine, the spindle, and the ten thousand other forms of mechanical appliances to human use; and they are now all in *motion*, and doing the bidding of man in the civil conquest of this great continent. Everywhere is being rapidly organized one all-pervading system of

mechanical industry, in harmony with the boundless resources and productions of the country. Everywhere capital and labor seek the legitimate rewards of industry and skill, and the achievement is alike grand and beneficent.

Whether upon the shores of the Atlantic or Pacific—whether in the mountain fastness or the distant plain—whether in the pine forests of the North or the cotton fields of the South—whether upon the prairies of Illinois and Indiana or the mineral mountains of Missouri and Colorado—with all the vast movements of capital and labor, mechanical skill and commercial development—education has kept pace, and with the power of the enchanter's wand has constantly refined the citizen and elevated the State What a wonderful auxiliary to man's success and elevation have been, and are now, the common schools! Behold them moulded into existence by the *Websters*, the *Beechers*, the *Manns*, and other great apostles of our educational system, gathering fruit from the tree of knowledge and giving it to the children of the Republic. Like the divine light and beneficence of the sun, which rises in the east and sends his effulgent rays westward to light up the world, so did the common school system rise in the East and go forth in its mission to the West, lighting up the minds of the millions of children that swarm upon the prairies and through the forests of America. Wonderful evangel, commissioned from on high to the human race! In peace more powerful for the conquest of the world than army and navy. Up to the present year 50,000,000 copies of the Elementary Spelling Book have been furnished to the children of America. What an instrument of use and of power! Upon all its pages are written progress to the human soul. Its mission has never yet been rivaled in the world. It has caused the land everywhere to blossom with schools and colleges. It is destined to supplant the sword and the bayonet with the milder arts of peace. All hail to the Spelling Book! Let the children from a million log-cabin homes throughout the country speak its praise, and write, *for me*, a new catechism formed of the alphabet, the numerals, and the multiplication table, though they came from Cadmus and the Arabs.

Let us pass from the common school to the press; and, as we approach this grand agency of modern enlightenment, which with its millions of white-winged messengers and broad-sheeted dynasties is wrapping the world with knowledge, let us realize that it is the legitimate offspring of advanced human progress—that it is one of the legitimate branches, growing high up on the great trunk of the

common school system. This is at last, perhaps, the most effective mode of educating the masses of the people. A free and untrammeled press is the very bulwark of the liberties of the Republic. The diffusion of moral and intellectual light, and of political information, from this source has been unprecedented in our country in the annals of the human race. Accurate statistics, showing the growth and power of the press from the organization of the government, and more especially during the last forty years, would be almost incredible. I will not trouble you with these. In 1860 the annual aggregate circulation of religious, political, and miscellaneous newspapers and periodicals amounted to 927,951,548 copies. Assuming that the growth of the press of the country has been as great during the last decade as it was during the previous one, the present number of papers and periodicals of all kinds would not fall far short of 7,000, and which would give an aggregate circulation of more than one thousand eight hundred millions, equal to at least forty-five copies to each person in the United States. This is individual and national progress! What age can boast so much? What people in all past history can present such a showing as this?

In literature, the country has kept pace with all our material achievements. Besides the rich contributions made by the General Government to science and learning, men and women of genius and talent, have added many volumes of great interest to the common fund of our knowledge. Aside from the voluminous contributions made by distinguished men, representing the learned professions, Law, Medicine, and Divinity, our literature has been enriched by the American Encyclopedia, by the works of Cooper, Irving, Emerson, Bryant, Longfellow, Bancroft, Prescott, Schoolcraft, Motley, Audubon, Draper, Dean, Cary, Greeley, Silliman, Agassiz, Margaret Fuller, Lydia Maria Child, and a host of other distinguished and well-deserving men and women. Benton gave us his Thirty Years in the U. S. Senate, and the Abridgment of the Debates in Congress; we have Dean's History of Civilization, Cary's Principles of Social Science, Draper's Intellectual Developement of Europe, The Types of Mankind, and Indigenous Races of the Earth. Every science and every art is represented by American scholars, in American literature. Nor must it be omitted that our Government has contributed much to the general fund of science, as represented in the Reports of the Japan Expedition, the Pacific Railroad Surveys; Herndon and Gibbons' Exploration of the Amazon; Lieut. J. M. Gillis' Naval Astronomical Expedition to the

Southern Hemisphere; also the Report of the Mexican Boundary Survey; the Survey for a Ship Canal across the Isthmus; Owen's Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and the Report of the Commissioners to the World's Fair at Paris, have all added largely to the literature and science of our country.

Nor in the midst of this material development—the rush after wealth by our people—have they neglected wholly a taste for the fine arts, that highest expression of the human mind, as it is filled and moved by the love of all that is beautiful, in the widest sense of the term, and invariably forms the crowning chaplet of the most advanced civilization. We have every reason to believe that it will fulfil its proper mission upon our continent, in the production of monuments which will rival in excellence all that human genius has been able to accomplish elsewhere. Our brief past sufficiently indicates this. In historical painting, the works of West, Trumbull, Copley, and Alston, rank with the most successful efforts of European artists. In portraiture, Stewart, and lately Elliott, and many others, have left us delineations of the "human face divine" which come up to all that can be required in that department. Nor will the productions of our modern landscape painters suffer in comparison with any that the pencil of Claude or Turner have left in the world. In our own *Church* we have the greatest landscape painter, whether of the old or modern masters. His "*Heart of the Andes*," and "*Falls of Niagara*," seem literal translations of nature as she appears in all her transcendant beauty and sublimity. They are scarcely pictures, but rather nature herself, as seen through the eyes of her most devoted worshippers. We have also our Hogarths and our Wilkies. The graphic outlines of Darley; the humorous and natural productions of Mount, as seen in the "*Bargaining for a Horse*," or those inimitable pictures "*The Jolly Flatboatmen*," "*The Stump Speaker*," and "*The County Election*," by our great Missouri artist, Bingham, assure us that our social and political characteristics, as daily and annually exhibited, will not be lost in the lapse of time for want of an *Art Record* rendering them full justice. And in sculpture we can boast such names as Crawford, Rogers, Palmer, Powers, Mills, Stone, McDonald, Ream, Hosmer, and others, whose wonderful productions equally assure us that, in the progress of the age, this branch of the "fine arts" will keep pace with the diffusion of knowledge and education amongst the masses of the people, and the high standard of culture, refinement, and civilization, towards which we are rapidly tending.

Not only have our people made rapid strides in art and invention, and added to the improvement of education and to the value of literature and science, but they have also contributed to the moral worth of mankind, and the advancement of a higher civilization. No people in the world have ever stood so high in the scale of elevated life as the American people. There is no official position that the native-born citizen is not eligible to fill, and no opportunity that is not afforded to the adopted citizen. The government knows no distinction in rank or class. In obedience to the law the millionaire stands side by side with the husbandman, the craftsman and the artisan, knowing no distinction but that which God has made. Not only are the millions of our people sharing blessings and opportunities never before afforded to any people upon earth, but in the greater amplitude of the enlightened and divine sentiment in the race, woman is now being lifted higher in the scale of civilization, higher in the intellectual, social, moral and civil walks of life, than ever before in all the ages of the past. The great statesman and enlightened reformer have already learned that civilization is *measured* by the position accorded to woman in nations and society. And if the state would be elevated, if society would advance, then woman must take rank side by side with man—he her brother, and she his sister—he the master, she the mistress—the one complementing the other in personality and in duty throughout all the intrinsic relations of life. The wise father will accord to his daughter all the general advantages of education afforded to his son. The true government will open to her all the avenues of learning, and labor, and industry, which she is fitted to fill, and which will promote her respectability and happiness; and will permit her to go forth into the great battle of life, free and untrammeled, to do whatever her genius and energy can accomplish, consistent with the purity and dignity of her sex.

Pursuing a further consideration of the progress of our civilization, the next highest and last subject to consider in the regular order is religion. In the advancement of our country, religion has had much to do with the affairs of our people. Actuated by its divine impulses millions of American citizens have enrolled themselves upon the records of the churches of the country, and pledged to obey the gospel and live according to the higher admonitions of the human soul. In the natural order of the human race—moving westward around the earth, to make the circuit of the globe—the mantle of Christianity fell upon the ancestors of the American people, and the

seeds of that divine system were transplanted in our soil, and grew in the hearts of our people. Like the central orb of day, which rises in glory over the plains of Bethlehem, and sends his shining light onward over the continents, the oceans, and isles of the sea, heralding the eternal will to all creatures; so does the Saviour of mankind, the great moral light of the world, stand in history—beyond the Atlantic, beyond Europe, away back in the dim ages of the past—and from his effulgent soul shines forth, over the ages and the continents, the divine light of the Eternal Father of the race. Then it is not from *Brahma*, nor from *Buddha*, not from *Sanchoniathon*, not from *Zoroaster* nor *Confucius*, but from JESUS of Nazareth, the loftiest spirit of celestial humanity ever reared upon earth, and "who spake as never man spake," to whom we trace the religion of our country. Filled with a great "*over-soul*," he declared that his kingdom was not of this world, and he went about in the humblest walks of life doing good, and "when he was reviled, he reviled not again." Such an one is the author and source of the Christian religion. I think I may safely say, that in moral and religious advancement our people have kept pace with the material and intellectual development of the country. Churches have multiplied with all the various denominations, until the number of professed Protestants amounts to 30,000,000, with 5,000,000 belonging to the Catholic church. Of these the Methodist and Baptist families number each about 10,000,000 souls. The entire church property of the country, including that owned by the Roman Catholics, amounts to the total value of $300,000,000! The American Bible Society, organized half a century ago, has published since that time 27,000,000 volumes, consisting of Bibles, Testaments, Psalms, and Proverbs, nearly one-half of which have been printed in other languages, and distributed, through the agency of the various missionary societies, to every quarter of the globe. And besides these, a large number of Bibles and tracts have been published and distributed outside of the American Bible Society.

I have thus hastily and somewhat in detail run over the essential elements of art and industry, of discovery and invention, of civil government, of education, of science and civilization involved in our national progress, and recounted to you some of the leading facts connected with the growth and prosperity of the American people and the American Union.

It remains for me to survey the whole in a single word, and ask you to consider it, with one grasp of the mind, as the grandest

material revelation ever made to man—the sublimest national achievement ever attained on earth. Standing upon the intellectual eminence of our age we are permitted to look back over four decades of national growth, and

> "Each fainter trace that memory holds,
> So darkly of departed years,
> In one broad glance the soul beholds,
> And all that was at once appears."

I look back through the years that formed that eventful period, and I see through all its days a constant movement of human beings from the Atlantic States to the prairies and forests of the great west; I behold them crossing the Alleghenies, the Potomac and the Blue Ridge. And as time advances, their numbers increasing as they gather new accessions from the older settlements of Ohio, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, they pass over the *Ohio*, the *Tennessee*, the *Cumberland*, the *Wabash*, the *Illinois*, and the *Mississippi*, pitching their tents with the Indian and the buffalo and dotting the land all over with log cabins. We saw but yesterday the humble pioneer, bidding adieu to his kindred, the home of his birth and the graves of his fathers, with the march of empire westward. We see him to-day carving mighty States out of the hitherto unbroken wilderness, and now, crowned with honor and blessed with the rewards of ceaseless toil, he takes his place in history, the American Pioneer and the American Patrician.

But as I gaze upon the panoramic movement of this army of pioneers, as they go forth from the rising to the setting sun, I see in the East the power of steam giving birth to the steamboat and the locomotive—the locomotive and the steamboat traversing the land and water, throughout the wide domain of the country, each the servant of man yet doing that which man himself cannot do. And, as the boat and the car rushes from city to city and from State to State, "from the myriad towering columns gushes, in mimic clouds, the quick breath of our new-born Titan. The ancient rocks echo to his shrill voice, and tremble as he rushes by. He troubles the waters and rides on their crest defiant. From the pine of the frozen North to the palmetto of the sunny South, his twin track tunnels the mountains, belts the prairie, and spans the flood. Mightiest of Kings is this son of fire! Proudest of monarchs is this genius of the lamp and of the fountain." And as he reigns supreme, the people everywhere bless the names of Fulton, of Evans, of Watt and of Stephens, whose genius trained him to use.

Still gazing over the four decades of our progress which have passed away since my departure from this institution, I see the rapid development of art and literature, the giant growth of education and commerce, of science and religion, of civilization and government, all united in one grand purpose for the advancement of the American citizen; and I see diffused through all the higher interests of our people, the Baconian philosophy, the revelations of Newton, and the practical wisdom of Franklin—all vast theoretical conquests of the human mind, affording new starting points for mental growth and that still higher development which the unknown future is to reflect upon our race.

And when I consider this vast progress of our country, I feel amazed, and am overwhelmed at the contemplation of its realities. And yet it has all moved forward with a reason and order "in which all have joined, ever advancing, ever encountering, and enduring an inevitable succession of events." Standing at the summit of the theme, let us consider, for one moment, how high our civil, intellectual and moral progress has attained in the ages. Let us rise to the grandeur of the comprehension, that we live in the most wonderful age of the world, and that, to-day, we stand at the highest point of its development. Tell me not of the mighty deeds recorded of antiquity! of the imperial dynasties that have come and gone, nor of the tribes and kingdoms that have unceasingly moved through pestilence and revolutions from mortal sight into everlasting history, in panoramic succession through the ages that have passed away, long before the *Southern Cross* disappeared from the horizon of the countries of the Baltic, or the shepherds appeared on the plains of Chaldea. Tell me not of all previous human power—the Persian or the Roman empire—the conquests of *Sesostris*, *Xerxes*, *Alexander*, Tamerlane and Cæsar! Tell me not of India's mysterious religion, that gave spiritual consolation to millions of our race long before Jehovah met Moses on Sinai, or Egypt gave birth to the pyramids! Tell me not of Grecian philosophy and Roman lore. All, *all* are as the egg to the eagle when compared to the consummate triumphs of our age, and are shorn of power, and barren of essential intellectual and moral worth, when compared to the American people and the American republic. Yet this amazing progress of our country has almost been the growth of the last forty-one years!

Eight Roman lustrums have passed away since I left the threshold of my *Alma Mater*. Since then what wondrous changes in

this wilderness of the great West, where the Indian and the wolf disputed with us the empire over nature. No steam whistle heralding the thundering train, alarmed the feathered songster of the groves and prairies. No lightning flash spoke with the thought from *ocean* to *ocean*, and vocalized with a miraculous organ beneath the depths of the sea. Man and woman toiled by hand labor in every field, where now we have harnessed the giant cyclops of fire and steam to do our bidding. Toil and weariness have, in a great degree, been laid aside by man, whilst the engine plies steadily on to do the work! *Eight Roman lustrums* have passed away, and the great moral and intellectual lights of a past generation have been blown out. Where are *Clay* and *Webster*, and *Calhoun* and *Everett* and *Benton*, and their great compeers? They have gone to sleep—

"With Patriarchs of the infant world."

Eight Roman lustrums have passed away, and Bloomington, then a small and inaccessible village, grown to the dimensions of a beautiful inland city, a seat of science and learning, and the pleasant abode of cultivated men and women.

The University of Indiana, endowed by the General Government, and located by the legislature in 1820—51 years ago—but not fully organized until 1829; having seasons of prosperity and of depression, and passing through those ordeals incident to similar State institutions, and especially in a new country; not always sustained as it should have been by the public authorities of the State, but at last placed upon a solid foundation; with a faculty distinguished for learning, fidelity and ability; with its 600 graduates, besides the 6,000 other students who have enjoyed its ample advantages, and gone forth to take their places in all departments of professional and industrial life; the first university of the land to throw open its doors to the education of women! and the *very* first to confer literary honors upon the sex, numbering seven (as I am informed) in the graduating class of the present year, and grown to be one of the first educational institutions of the country. What a change!

The State of Indiana, then bordering upon the frontier, rich in the historic recollections of her early French settlements, and in the daring achievements of her brave sons in the second war for Independence, when they stood side by side with their brethren from Ohio and Kentucky, and under the leadership of their Johnsons, their Davies's, their Clarks, their Shelbys, and their Harrisons, upon

the banks of the *Thames*, and the plains of *Tippecanoe*, rescued the land from the merciless savage, and dedicated it to the cause of progress and civilization. Now with its 1,700,000 inhabitants, grown to be the *seventh* State in the Union, with its beautiful capitol, with its canals and railways, with its growing cities, its extended commerce on the lakes and on the rivers, its infant manufactories, its prosperous system of common schools, with its magnificent school fund, greater than that of any other State (of equal population), its temples of learning and religion dotting its territory in every direction. *What a change!* And Missouri, the State of my adoption, rising superior to every difficulty, and, like Anteus of old, gathering strength from her misfortunes, growing rapidly in population, in intelligence and in wealth, and bidding fair, at no distant day, to surpass her surrounding sisters, and become the great central commonwealth of the nation. Behold her! With 1,750,000 inhabitants, in honorable rivalry, *ahead*, in population, of Indiana! With her 45,000,000 of acres of land diversified with prairie and forest; 13,000.000 for hemp; 5,000,000 for grape; 15,000,000 for ordinary farming; 2,000,000 for mining; 100,000,000 tons of coal annually for 1,300 years; 230,000,000 tons of iron above the ground; with lead at 500 points; copper in fifteen counties; gold, zinc, tin, nickel, cobalt, emery, granite, marble, limestone, pipe clay, and metallic paints, within 100 miles of St. Louis, exciting the wonder and cupidity of the adventurous and enterprising of other States. Behold her! With the future great city of the world sitting like a queen on the left bank of the Father of Waters, of unparalelled growth, and with a population of 312,000, the fourth city of the continent, with her splendid public grounds; her innumerable churches, lifting their tall spires to the heavens; her institutions of learning; her well arranged public school system, equal to any in America; her rapidly increasing commerce: her great iron manufactories just springing into life, and the glow of whose furnaces cast a mellow light across the Mississippi upon the rich bottom lands of Illinois; her great railway system, centering in her commercial metropolis; her gigantic bridges, the one just completed of iron spanning the Missouri 6,570 feet in length, and the other, the most stupendous structure of the kind yet attempted upon the Western hemisphere, progressing rapidly to completion, under the direction of James B. Eads, the *great engineer* who conceived and planned it, a native of Dear-

born county, Indiana, now a citizen of Missouri, and chaining forever, with *iron links*, the people and the States on the east and west side of the Mississippi river.

Eight Roman lustrums have passed away. I look around me, and I behold still other changes, which leave their impress upon the heart, and awaken fond recollections of the days that are gone. Where are the public men of Indiana, who were laying the foundations of civil government in the wilderness here, and moulding the public sentiment of the country, when I was a student in these halls? Hardly one of them is left. I knew many of them; they often visited Bloomington, on interesting commencement and other similar occasions. They felt an abiding interest in the success of their young University. Having fulfilled their mission upon earth, they have gone to the better land!

The elder *Hendricks*, *Blackford*, *Huntington*, *Blake*, *Howard*, *Maxwell*, *Wright*, *Whitcomb*, *Leavenworth*, *Posey*, *Farnham*, *Ketchum*, and a host of other worthy men, the benefits of whose labors the present generation are enjoying to-day. Time has also made vacant many seats here since September, 1830. *Not a Professor remains who was at that time connected with this Institution.* *Harney*, *Hall*, *Wylie*, all able and faithful men, who aided in laying broad and deep the foundations of the University of Indiana, have paid the debt of nature, and gone to

> "That undiscovered country, from whose bourne
> No traveller returns."

Nor must I fail to speak here of the scholarly and accomplished *Lathrop*, who was, both before and after his residence in Bloomington, connected first as *President* and *afterwards* as Professo with the University of the State of Missouri, located in the village where I reside. For many years he was my near neighbor and warm personal friend. The most perfect model of a Christian gentleman I ever knew; who lived up to the highest standard of elevated moral principle, and when he came to die, the last feeble accents that fell from his lips, were the noble words: "*I have endeavored to discharge my duty.*" The remembrance of his labors, together with those of his cotemporary and friend, so favorably known to you all, *Dr. Daniel Read*, in the common cause of higher education, and of his many personal virtues, constitute a bright link, connecting indissolubly, in sympathy and friendship, the two first literary institutions of the great States of Indiana and Missouri. I accompanied Dr. Wylie from Washington College,

Pennsylvania, to this place. I was his pupil there for two years, before coming to Bloomington, and I only repeat a truth recognized by all who knew him, that for *fidelity to duty*, *sincerity in his friendship*, *honesty of purpose*, profound and accurate scholarship, and ability as an educator, he had few equals, and no superior in our country. For whatever I may have accomplished in life, I feel that I owe much to the training, the advice, the daily admonition, and the bright and noble example of this great and good man.

Of those who were students here at the time of which I speak, many of them I have lost sight. They are scattered far and near over our broad land, filling well their places in the ranks of professional and industrial life. The places of others of them are missing, *missing forever*, from the roll call of the Alumni! *Hummer*, and *Randall*, and *Ketchum*, and others, have all gone down to the tomb, leaving behind them reputations without blemish and faithful representatives of our brethren in the spirit land. But where? Oh!

"Where is my bosom friend, dearer than all?"

Miller! MILLER! The fine scholar, able teacher, successful lawyer, and brilliant orator. Taking the honors of his class in the year 1831, and true to that attachment for each other formed in our early youth, at Washington, and in Bloomington, he came to Missouri, and located in the same county with myself. Indigent in his circumstances, he taught school for a livelihood, having established a classical academy, which became afterwards the foundation of the University of the State of Missouri, destined to be one of the great educational and scientific institutions of our country. Perfecting his scholarship, and controlled by a higher ambition, he studied the law, and, in conjunction with myself, practised the profession successfully for a number of years. No man of his age stood higher, or had made a better impression. If he had lived, he would have ranked to-day with the ablest men and profoundest jurists of our State. But, alas!

"Disease marked him for her own."

Inheriting the seeds of pulmonary affection, he was compelled to abandon his profession; and as a last remedy, under the advice of my venerated father, who was an able physician, he ventured upon a trip across the wild plains to New Mexico, hoping to derive benefit from the pure air of that healthful region. But the effort

was too much for him; he did not reach his destination. He died upon the way, at the early age of 30, and was buried at the foot of the mountains, in that then unknown wilderness! No imperishable mound marks the spot where he lies, sweet flowers bloom in perpetual fragrance, and the wild winds of the snow-clad mountains sigh daily their sad requiem over his early grave!

"Oh! what a noble heart was here undone,
When Science' self destroyed her favorite son!"

It is under such circumstances, and with such thrilling memories crowding upon the heart, that I come to greet you, my brother Alumni, to shed a tear over the graves of our companions who are gone, and to re-pledge the steadiness of my friendship to you, to our beloved brethren, scattered far and wide over our great country, and to renew my devotion to the best interests of our common mother. I return to you after this long separation for the first time, with my beautiful children witnesses of these pledges, and it may be the last time that all of us shall ever meet again around this sacred altar. And in all this joy of meeting, there is to me a sorrow, a *grief* that penetrates the depths of *the soul.* Intervening time, indeed, has wrought its changes, and, since many of the good and true men whom I parted with on this spot forty-one years ago have "crossed over the river," I stand here in your midst almost alone. A "*reed shaken in the wind*," "*the voice of one crying in the wilderness*," the marks of age are upon my brow, and the furrows of time upon my cheeks; my race, too, is almost run; and while the lessons of life crowd upon my memory, the solemn evidences of death are also around me, bearing constant witness of the mutability of all things, and of our resistless advance to an unsolved future. When I consider how frail is man, how unrelenting is time, in the helplessness of my nature I am led to exclaim: O GOD! who dwellest in the high and holy place, I turn in humble gratitude to Thee, and offer the benedictions of my heart. Let there be peace to the dead, and blessings to the living!

Nor can I close this already too extended address, without saying a word upon the subject of the American Union, for I know of no earthly theme so great, no achievement so important, none that demands the devotion and guardian care so much, as the American Union!

And why should these States be severed? Look at Indiana and Kentucky, twin sisters of the great Republic, who have a common inheritance in the recollection of the patriotic and heroic actions of

their brave sons, fighting for the honor of our common country; whose sons and daughters have married and intermarried, bound thus by the ties of friendship and of blood; whose territories are separated only by the *silver thread* of that beautiful river, on the smooth bosom of whose bright waters are borne to a common market the products of their respective sons of toil; the merry voices of whose children straying along its banks, echo from shore to shore, as they go and return, morning and evening, to those nurseries of *knowledge*, *religion* and *patriotism*, the common schools of the two States, whose common soil is heated by the same sun, and refreshed by the same genial shower; and where our hearts are oft-times gladdened in witnessing the grand spectacle of the beautiful rainbow arch spanning its bright waters, and over which the spirits of Peace should ever be permitted to pass and repass in harmony and love.

Let us look at it for one moment. Running back through a long life of the race, and reading on the pathway of time and fortune the bloody and dimly written record of the devastating and wayward march of mankind through the wilderness of their earthly pilgrimage, the American Continent and the American Union flashes upon the weary soul of the pilgrim as the sun-light of heaven flashed upon the blind Bartemeus when Jesus had restored his sight!

There is nothing more evident to my mind, than that Providence reserved the American continent as the promised land of the human race; and that God sent Columbus, guided by unseen hands, to reveal it to the elder families of man. And, though obscured for thousands of years by an impenetrable vale of waters, it was beheld afar off, through the darkened ages of the past, and proclaimed—

> "The lost *Atlantides* that lay
> To ancient thought beyond the waves away."

Behold the wisdom of God in preparing this continent for the future abode of man! He has laid its foundations upon the eternal granite of its hills! He has pointed its boundaries with mountains reaching up their giant heights to the heavens! He has laid it with rivers from zone to zone! He has watered it with lakes, and ordained it to be sprinkled with rains! He has spread out its prairies, and uplifted its forests! He has fertilized its lands, and enriched its veins with precious metals! He has created for it vast coal fields, and moulded its mountains of iron! He has made its green fields, and caused its flowers to bloom! In wisdom has He ordered its cli-

mates, and with power has He given it greatness! He has surrounded it with oceans, and lighted it from on high! He has populated it everywhere with animal life, and apportioned food for all! In wisdom has He done it all, for humanity has He done it well! So perfect have been the operations of the Eternal Will in the creation of America, and the creation of man, that the most perfect adaptability exists between the government of the finite and the purposes of the Infinite.

Behold the American continent, the handiwork of the Creator! Behold the American Union, fashioned after the heavenly system! Yonder system has its all-controlling, all-sustaining central sun, around which planetary orbs revolve in harmony and order in obedience to the Infinite Will: emblematic of His heavenly system, our system, the American Union, has its all-controlling, all-sustaining central power, around which magisterial States revolve in harmony and order, in obedience to the finite will. What greater evidence of the high attainments of our people? What greater evidence of the perfect government of the American Union? Our fathers, in their wisdom and aspirations, fashioned it after the government of God. What more can their children? Ask the millions who live under the shield of the Constitution! ask the patriot, what more can the American people do? and the answer will come from millions of tongues, throughout the wide domain of the continent; from the fields and the workshops; from the busy cities and the mountain homes; and from the lands beyond the sea—that, as you have formed the American Union according to the Government of Heaven, so you must live like unto God. This is the highest, the Divinest, and the all-expressive response of the American heart. As God is true and all-devoted to his Celestial Government, so must the American people be true and all-devoted to the American Union. It is the great hope of the world. Here, as typical of old, the oppressed of other lands seek refuge; and Moses, transported from Pisgah, looks down with delight from his home above, and beholds again a new land of promise, upon which his earthly feet are not permitted to tread. Martyrs of human liberty, gone up from every land to people heaven, and the sages of the American Revolution, who have "crossed to the hills beyond," with Washington—tall angel of light that he now is—counsel together in the courts of Heaven for the preservation and the perpetuity of the American Union. And God in His eternal wisdom directs and guides its great life and purposes.

And, since the American Union has been moulded by the will of God and the wisdom of man, let us re-pledge ourselves and our children, with soul, mind and strength, to an unalterable attachment to the Union of these States, and in after ages, as the generations of men pass from time to eternity, the coming millions, who, in more perfect life, will inherit its blessings and its honors, will sing praises to those whose wisdom moulded it into being and fashioned it well. What an empire is in reservation for the American people when the Constitution overarches the entire Continent! With the eyes of Cassandra I look forward through the years of the future, and behold the American Union moving forward in its majestic career with ever-increasing power and greatness, constantly enlarging and effacing the boundary lines of political communities, and absorbing new regions into the Federal family, until the Divine purpose is accomplished. Composed of an hundred free, sovereign and independent States, we become the ocean-bound Republic. It passes the transition of ideas, and attains to an empire of mind as well as might. I see in the near future, its capitol transplanted and fixed in the center of its power, in this great valley, a capitol commensurate with the Republic—its buildings moulded by an architectural skill and taste transcending the achievements of all previous genius, and standing upon its imperial heights, like the rock-built Pharos, its crowning honor the Goddess of Liberty, pure emblem of the Divine personification of American principles, and above her form, and over this new capitol, I behold the flag of my country—the *stars* and *stripes*, the *eagle* and the *shield*, waving in everlasting honor, above all hate or fear. Around this great capitol of the American Union, I see gathered majestic marble forms of Columbus and Humboldt, Washington and Hamilton, of Franklin and Jefferson, of Hancock and Paine, of Adams and Marshall and Clinton, of Clay and Webster, of Harrison and Jackson, of Calhoun and Benton, Douglas and Lincoln, and other distinguished heroes of American liberty and American statesmanship—all immortal names in our history, and worthy to be honored and studied by the coming children of the *American Union!*

"Great God! we thank Thee for this home—
This bounteous birthland of the free,
Where wanderers from afar may come,
And breathe the air of liberty!
Still may her flowers untrampled spring,
Her harvests wave, her cities rise;
And yet 'till Time shall fold his wing,
Remain Earth's loveliest paradise!"

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